THE WORKERS'

DREADNOUGHT

For International Socialism

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BRITAIN STILL SUPPORTING SOVIET ENEMIES.

MUNITIONS SHIPPED FROM LIVERPOOL!

A Liverpool correspondent writes:—

For some time past, in fact, throughout the winter, a ship has been laid up in Liverpool. She had a crew of sailors from the Baltic provinces of Russia, and was chartered under the British Ministry of Shipping. She was a store ship running to Archangel. We have been in touch with the crew for some time, and met them regularly until about ten days ago, when they disappeared. On Monday, 12th January, one of the crew, who spoke English, came up to us in a very excitable state. It appears that this ship and another (the Beothis and Belle Adventure) have been transferred to the Russian Ministry of Shipping (part of the White Government), and this necessitates the crew signing a new contract coming under new owners. The sailors refused, because they would be obliged to sail for Archangel, and they wished to go back to their homes in Esthonia, Latvia, etc.

"They were threatened with imprisonment, and were, as a matter of fact, confined to the ship, and *left without food for eight days*, their pay and subsistence being discontinued because they were not actually in the employ of the ship's owners, the Russian Ministry of Shipping. The intention seems to have been to provoke the crew to violence, when they could have been arrested and deported as Bolsheviks.

"The men still refuse to sign, and have claimed repatriation. They are told they will be repatriated in due course when shipping is available. The interpreter has discovered that the captain, a Lett, was to receive a bonus of £100 if he got the crew signed on. The men had an idea that if they went with the ship they would be going inevitably to their death as they are Radical, or Red, by conviction. The "Beothic" and "Belle Adventure" are moored in mid-stream, and are taking cargo mid-stream—store, explosives, and munitions. They sailed on Wednesday. The crew shipped aboard is a scratch Russian crew from the various white Russian Missions which are left from the Great War, and very likely some coloured seamen."

The original crew has been left behind in England to await "repatriation."

The LABOUR PARTY ON INTERVENTION.

Mr. Henderson has issued a statement to the Press in which he says that the Labour Party has "never failed" to protest against the intervention in Russia.

Unfortunately, that is not true; if the Labour Party had made a vigorous protest at the outset: if it had shown that it was prepared to take the sort of action against the intervention which it has again and again declared the German workers ought to have taken against the war with the Allies, perhaps the intervention would have been nipped in the bud.

When the intervention began George Barnes was representing the Labour Party in the Cabinet, Clynes was Assistant Food Minister, and several Labour Party men held posts in the Government. The Labour Party made no protest in those days.

At the first conference of the re-constructed Labour Party in June, 1918, we remember moving to bring the Labour men out of the Government, and pointing out that Prince Arthur of Connaught was then in Japan, arranging, on behalf of the British Government, for the invasion of Siberia by Japan. The Chairman of the Labour Conference, Mr. Purdy, literally shouted us down again and again, saying that we were out of order, although obviously the Government's foreign policy was a question to be considered in connection with the proposal before the conference to end the political truce. We remember warning the Labour Party that if its representatives remained in the Government, they would be held responsible for the Russian invasion, and to-day they cannot shift their share of the responsibility for the inception of that crime.

How was it that Mr. Henderson failed to support us in our protest in June, 1918? How was it that instead he supported the retention of the Labour Members in the Government that was beginning the new war? How was it that he and all the Labour leaders failed to protest, when, shortly afterwards, it was made known that the British Government and its Allies had invaded Russia on the Murman coast? The reason is clear; they were not opposed to an intervention that would crush the Soviets.

At that same Labour Party Conference Kerensky, who had come from Russia to appeal for Allied military intervention against the Soviets, was invited by Henderson to address the con-

Continued on next page.

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IN SOUTH EASTERN EUROPE.

BY OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.

Communism is for the moment stopped on the Bessarabian border. But all the territory lying south and west of this line—Roumania, Bulgaria, Jugo-Slavia, Hungary, and German Austria—is in a state of economic collapse as a result of the inherent contradictions of capitalism. Poland, Czecko-Slovakia, and Italy are in a more or less similar state. Unless capitalism can overcome one or the other of its contradictions, Communism must surely come over all this territory, to save it from such a dissolution as overtook the Roman Empire in the fifth century.

Capitalism has been seeking in this part of the world—which is economically the most desolated of all Europe—two things: to produce for profit, and to attain monopoly by strangling its rivals. Now to the capitalism of the Entente countries, which is momentarily controlling the situation, these two tendencies take the following forms: to maintain the capitalistic regime in each of these south-western countries, so that it may attain ever larger production and larger profit; and to keep each possible rival in a state of weakness or subjection. The last, is particularly the policy of France, who aspires to the hegemony of the European continent, just as she did a century ago and two centuries ago. But France, being now too weak to maintain her hegemonic position by military force, seeks to maintain it by keeping all her rivals small, divided, weak and jealous. Thus, to offset Germany she creates an imperialistic Poland. To offset Italy she creates an imperialistic Jugo-Slavia. She refuses to permit German Austria to join with Germany. At the same time she creates a Czecko-Slovakia to offset Poland, in case this country should become too strong. But lest Czecko-Slovakia should be too weak for its task, she fosters an alliance between it and Austria. All these countries are to be united against Bolshevik Russia, but each is to prevent the other from becoming unduly strong. Particularly she fears any great economic combination which could monopolize the natural resources and industry of this part of the world.

But now it happens that great economic combination is exactly the thing that capitalism needs to maintain itself in a going condition. The greater the surplus product, the more highly organised the industrial life must be. And the more highly organised industrial life is, the greater its dependence on other countries. An electrical apparatus factory needs coal from one part of the world, steel from another, copper from another, platinum from another, and rubber from another. If any one of these materials is stopped, the whole factory must cease work. Only by steady economic arrangement between many countries can this production be maintained in a flourishing condition.

The contradiction, then, is this: capitalistic profits demand that the world be united; capitalistic monopoly (the monopoly of any one national capitalism) demands that the world be divided. The capitalism which controls Entente policies has as yet found no way out of this dilemma.

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ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

IN SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE.

Continued from front page.

HUNGARY.

The muddle is perfectly illustrated in Hungary. France is desperately eager to maintain the capitalistic system erect in Hungary. But France fears that Hungary may become a strong rival state, the nucleus of a new Austro-Hungarian monarchy. So it attempts to weaken Hungary by drawing a new map. It gives Hungary's best grainland to Jugo-Slavia. Hence, Hungary, which can no longer wholly support itself by agriculture, must manufacture. But then France gives Hungary's best raw materials to other countries. She gives the best coal lands to Czecko-Slovakia, the best timber lands to Roumania, the minerals to one country or another. Now each of these countries has its own little national capitalism to nourish. So Czecko-Slovakia refuses to give Hungary coal; Roumania refuses to give her timber. And Hungary, not being able to manufacture, cannot buy these things. Neither can she buy food for her people. Hence, when there is not enough to go round, the Hungarian people must instal a Communist regime to ration what there is. Then the Entente sends the Roumanian armies in to overthrow the Communists, and the dismal story starts all over again.

Each of these little national capitalisms seeks to strangle its rival, and hence refuses to send to rival countries the raw materials it possesses. But each seeks to produce for profit, and hence tries to annex by force the raw materials of the rival countries. Thus, Poland recently conquered the oil wells of Ukrainia, and Roumania stole the railroad equipment of Hungary. Thus all these countries, including Italy, limp along on one economic leg. If their capitalisms become too strong, they lead to imperialism; if too weak, they lead to dissolution and Bolshevism. Capitalism cannot solve the situation, because capitalism cannot deny its own nature.

In Hungary, the capitalistic regime is being maintained at the point of the sword. Or rather, a nominally capitalistic government, for production in Hungary is virtually at a standstill. The present coalition government was dictated by Sir George Clerk, representing the Entente, who stipulated that Social-Democrats should be included in the cabinet. But the real power lies in the reactionary army of Horthy, which imprisons, beats, and assassinates citizens at will, commits or protects wholesale destruction of property, and maintains a white terror throughout the land. According to the latest reports which reach here, the population as a whole thoroughly hates Horthy and the "coalition" government that shields him. Undoubtedly the people would rise against it, if they did not know that such a move would mean a new blockade by the Entente, like that which starved them last spring. The Communist current is strong, but the Communist movement is too disorganised, because of exile, assassination and terrorism, to take the reins at any early date. What may come, however, is a condition of general lawlessness, the anarchy of desperation, in which each man robs for himself, and which the foreign Press will doubtless call Bolshevism."

VIENNA.

The situation in German Austria is desperate from everyone's point of view. Vienna, with two and a half million inhabitants, is in a country which contains a total of only eight millions. Vienna's whole reason for existence has ceased. The country cannot support the city. The city cannot pay the country for its grain, or foreign nations for its imports, because it is in a state of virtual blockade, and because it was never an industrial city, but a bureaucratic one. The Entente cannot decide what to do about Austria. It will not let the country join with Germany, for fear of increasing the Teuton power. It will not let it build itself up on an independent industrial basis, for fear it may give the impetus to a new Austrian empire. It will not give Austrian capitalism a chance to live; but threatens starvation if it should die. As a result, the suffering in Vienna this winter has been terrible. Men cutting up dead horses on the streets for food, women breaking up their furniture for firewood, have been common sights in Vienna. The city is kept on the thin line of starvation by doles of grain and coal from the Entente, but these may cease at any time.

The Social-Democrats fear to take any definite step, and the people still fear to follow the growing Communist party, led by Dr. Friedlaender. For the people have the terrible example of Hungary's famine still in their memories. What is still more effective, the low morale of the people seems to preclude any vigorous action. The soul can starve along with the body. If things continue to get worse in Austria, the next step will not be Communism, with its stern discipline and efficient centralisation, but a social chaos, with each man stealing what he can lay his hands on to feed or warm himself. The hope that the Social-Democrats under the leadership of Fritz Adler, will adopt a revolutionary attitude, has completely vanished. The one encouraging feature of the situation is the continued existence of the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils. These still retain a large measure of their original authority, and realise a large share of the effective administration of the country, and completely dominate the militia, or *Volkswehr*. Though they are controlled by Social-Democratic policy, they are by no means party organs, and may adopt a Communist policy at any time, as the Soviets did in Russia after the Korniloff affair. On the other hand, the counter-revolutionists have been using the past year to stir up the peasants to a frenzy of hatred against Communism. Hence, a Vienna revolution would be starved within a week by the farm workers, unless adjacent countries had in the meantime become Communist and could come to the city's aid.

BULGARIA.

Bulgaria is in much the same situation, except in the matter of morale. The country is in a state of semi-blockade and economic ruin, similar to that of Hungary to-day. But the Communist movement here is stronger than in any other Balkan land. The autumn elections, it will be remembered, gave to the Communist party (the "narrow Social-Democrats" now allied with the Moscow International) 47 seats in the parliament, out of 240. The moderate Social-Democrats gained only 39 seats. The peasant party gained nearly 90 seats, and formally took over the government, with Stambouliski at its head. But already this party is discredited. It staked its policy, as Karoly in Hungary did his, on the theory that the Entente would be generous to an anti-German regime. The Entente has given Bulgaria the kind of disastrous peace it gave to Hungary. The outcome will probably be the same. The political trend is shown by the recent Municipal elections, in which the Communist party defeated all its rivals, including the moderate Socialists, nearly everywhere. In the meantime, Bulgarian money, like Austrian, is fast becoming valueless. Bulgarian capitalism cannot purchase the materials it needs in foreign lands, and is starving to death. Prices are rising, and discontent is growing. Reports received here indicate that the situation is of a revolutionary character. But readers should receive reports of an actual revolution in Bulgaria with reserve. The Bulgarians, too, fear a complete blockade. On the other hand, it may be taken for certain that if any adjacent country were to turn Communist, Bulgaria would follow within a fortnight.

ROUMANIA.

It is very different, however, with the neighbouring states of Roumania and Jugo-Slavia. Different, at least, in point of externals. Roumania, an old feudal country, has perhaps the most unjust land distribution in all Europe, and hence rejoices in a down-trodden peasantry and a desperate proletariat. But for the present Roumania is held in terror by the army, and the lower middle classes, under the spell of military victory, are supporting the reactionary regime. Roumania's present position is further strengthened by the fact that she is non-industrial and agriculturally self-supporting, and stands in relatively little need of the outside world. On the other hand, she lies next to Soviet Russia, and her soil is over-ripe for Communism. When the psychological moment arrives, Roumania may be expected to turn Communist with a bang.

JUGO-SLAVIA.

Jugo-Slavia is relatively little advanced in the direction of Communism. Indeed, even bourgeois Republicanism is scarcely represented in the Parliament. This nation, which, like Czecko-Slovakia, lies under the special protection of France, has not been permitted to approach economic dissolution. Nationalist feelings are being kept alive by the rivalry with Italy and the possibility of an Italian war. It is hardly possible as yet to speak of a strong Communist trend.

GREECE.

In Greece, which is pursuing a lively Asiatic imperialism of her own, the Socialist movement is just emerging from a vicious campaign of repression and reaction carried out by the Venizelos government.

The situation, then, is not one to lead Communists to hope for a decisive revolution in the near future. The Entente has accomplished something, for the moment, with the terrible example it made of Hungary. But the Entente has utterly failed to achieve the resuscitation of capitalism. Every month carries these countries more hopelessly toward bankruptcy, high prices and economic breakdown.

In the meantime, the example of triumphant Soviet Russia is teaching its lesson to the workers of all these lands. At present, with militarism still all-powerful, it is scarcely possible for any one of these countries to become Communist independently of the others. But unless the capitalism of the Entente can find a way to overcome its inherent contradictions, Communism must take up the reins. And when it comes again to this part of the world, it will probably come with a rush.

LABOUR PARTY ON INTERVENTION.

Continued from front page.

ference, and there voiced his infamous plea, amidst the plaudits of the British Labour officials.

Later on, in September, 1918, came the "Inter-Allied Labour and Socialist Conference." It was packed by the British Labour Party, which, in organising it, had given itself a clear majority of votes over all the other national sections combined, and the British Labour Party cannot escape the main responsibility for the resolution on Russia, which was adopted by that Conference. This resolution stated that the intervention, which it described as an effort of the Allies "to assist the Russian people," must be influenced by the desire "to preserve liberty and democracy." Thus, the Inter-Allied Labour and Socialist, or, more correctly, "Social-patriotic" Conference, set the seal of its approval on the Russian Intervention.

All this time Henderson was making most bitterly vindicative and untruthful speeches against the Soviets. Ramsay MacDonald, in the *Labour Leader*, also stated, at one time, that the Allied intervention in Russia to establish a centrist government would not be an unmixed evil.

Now that the Russian Workers' Soviets have falsified all predictions by maintaining themselves against every kind of attack, and are obviously growing stronger every day; now that Allied Generals and diplomatic representatives, and other respectable bourgeois people, have taken up the defence of Soviet Russia; now that bye-elections are being contested; now that a General Election in Britain is thought to be approaching; now it seems that the Russian intervention may prove a good stick with which to beat the Government. Therefore, the opportunists who have so long misled the Labour Party endeavour to climb into power by pretending that they opposed intervention from the first.

Even now these poltroons are not protesting to organise *action* to stop the intervention: they merely try to snatch electoral successes by a pretended opposition to it.

We hope that the workers will not be gulled by such pretences, but will drive these men from office.

QUESTIONS OF THE DAY.

THE ARMENIAN ATROCITIES FILM.

We hope that no one witnessing the so-called "Armenian Atrocities" film at the Albert Hall, London, will be so mistaken as to imagine that it represents anything more genuine than the adventures of Charlie Chaplin. It is just the work of a number of actors and artists under the clever direction of one of those modern film producers who have already wrought so many marvels of illusion.

But what is the object of this film? It is produced by the Society for the League of Nations under the ominous presidency of that quartet of war-makers—Viscount Grey and Messrs. Lloyd George, Balfour and Asquith. The League of Nations is represented by its sponsors, as a sort of factory of international good will; but the real purpose of the League of Nations is to secure the predominent power in world exploitation to the Allied capitalists, and, above all, to fight the international Communist movement of the working class.

Needless to say, this "Armenian Atrocity" film is not produced in order to promote good will amongst the peoples! Its object is to blacken still further the reputation of the Turk because, now that he is conquered, the Allied capitalists wish to divide the greater part of his country amongst themselves. To accomplish the complete dismemberment of Turkey, it may be necessary to call on the Allied working people to provide still more men and money. "Public opinion" is therefore being "prepared" to meet all eventualities.

The production of the "Armenian Atrocity" film at the Albert Hall is, in short, a public scandal and a disgrace to the nation.

We are glad to see that for once Scotland Yard agrees with us in this!

Does the Labour Party still believe that it has a duty to help the Government in propaganda for the League of Nations?

THE IRISH MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.

Sinn Fein *versus* Labour.

The Irish Municipal elections which have been carried out by proportional representation have yielded some important information. They show that whilst Sinn Fein still has the support of a larger proportion of voters than any other party in Nationalist Ireland, it does not possess a clear majority over all other parties. Has the influence of the Sinn Fein organisation waned, or do the voters consider its policy less applicable to Municipal than to Parliamentary affairs? In Ulster, on the other hand, we have the important fact brought out that the supporters of Unionism are in a minority of 6 to the Nationalist parties, yet Ulster's alleged great opposition to Irish Independence is used as the principal argument for maintaining the Union.

In Nationalist Ireland the Labour Party has secured the second place on the poll with 324 seats to Sinn Feins, 422; in Ulster Labour has the third place. In Nationalist Ireland Sinn Fein and Labour can together control all the councils. Sinn Fein and Labour are both out to ignore the British Parliament, and to make the local bodies and the Irish Parliament the governing force in Ireland. The police remain under British control, and Britain maintains a large army of occupation in Ireland; nevertheless, some very remarkable developments might now take place in Ireland; developments which would lead to a more serious popular struggle with the Imperial Government than has yet been witnessed. But Sinn Fein is not out for socialisation, and the Irish Labour Party has not altogether freed itself from reformism. Therefore, we must not look for very startling developments. The fact that the local elections have placed Sinn Fein and Labour, as two not very far from equal rivals, in control of the local bodies will greatly clarify the position in Ireland. The essential difference between the merely national policy of Sinn Fein, and the policy of the working class gradually awaking to consciousness, will become apparent to all, and will greatly accelerate the development of Communism in Ireland.

LABOUR (MIS) LEADERS.

J. R. Clynes, M.P., at Ashton-under-Lyne, on January 17th, said: "Labour would have made peace with Russia 18 months ago." That is a strange thing to say; he ought to have said: "Labour would never have broken the peace with Russia," but the Labour Party had representatives in the Government when the British attack on Soviet Russia began; evidently the Labour representatives raised no objection. Clynes made another curious observation: "What folly it was to have this partial intervention!" Does that mean that Clynes would have approved a full intervention; let Clynes explain himself.

Robert Willams, at Tonbridge, on January 18th, said the miners will take drastic action and perhaps promote a general strike if the Government does not heed their demands. Will he move a general strike resolution at the Trades Union Congress in February? Or shall we see him supporting the usual do-nothing bluff?

J. H. Thomas, at Liverpool, on January 18th, replied to the oft-repeated taunt that he is determined never to lead a strike, saving that it is a sounder policy to go for a principle that will reduce the cost of living than for increases of pay. No doubt Mr. Thomas is right, but if a strike is proposed to secure the reduction in the cost of living, either by nationalisation or socialisation, by regulation of prices and profits, by Government subsidies or by any other possible expedient, Mr. Thomas will reply that this is a political question and that the strike weapon must not be used in connection with it.

It seems fairly evident that Mr. Thomas has fallen in with the view of the Government and the capitalists in general that strikes by the railway workers are not justifiable, because they interfere with the organisation of the community as a whole. Mr. Thomas said that a strike would have been "disastrous to the railwaymen and *ruinous to the country*." There is no doubt that this is the view he will put forward whenever there is the possibility of a railway strike.

But what do the railway workers think of this? Is it not time for them to discard the leadership of J. H. Thomas?

J. T. Brownlie chairman of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, on January 17th, said: "The workers must be prepared, if necessary, to work on under conditions which they could never accept otherwise and which might involve hardship so that they might take their part in removing the evils which have arisen from still greater injustice in other parts of Europe."

This is strange doctrine to come from the elected representative of intelligent working men. The way to benefit the oppressed workers in other countries is not to submit to oppressive economic conditions here, but to overturn that instrument of world oppression, the capitalist system, and to establish Communism and the Soviets in Britain.

THE *EVENING NEWS'* MAN'S RUSSIAN FANTASIE.

The warning not to put faith in "travellers' tales" is one that we must commend to any of our readers who may read the funny Russian story of "Piermarini," which is appearing in the *Evening News*. Arthur Ransome, Philips Price, Dr. Rickman, Reynolds Ball, Professor Goode, Douglas Young, Colonel Malone, Captain Sadoul, and the others who have testified for the Soviets, had much to lose by so doing; "Piermarini" is giving the *Evening News* the story it expects of him, and no doubt he is well paid for it. We wonder whether "Piermarini" has the courage to call at our editorial office for cross-examination

ANOTHER INTEREST.

The Austrian Laenderbank is being taken over as a French concern. That means the creation of a strong French interest against a Communist Revolution in Austria. This bank operates in Czecho-Slovakia, Roumania and parts of the Old Monarchy.

SOVIET RUSSIA.

SOVIET KINDERGARTENS.

"Under the Czar's régime the education of children under school age was practically non-existent in Russia; only a few large towns in addition to the two capitals could boast of Kindergartens for the children of the well-to-do.

"The Commissariat of Public Instruction took the question of infant instruction in hand, and the first year was spent on preparatory work; important results came later. The budget of the first half-yearly term in 1919 amounted to 120,000,000 roubles (nominal value of rouble about 2/-), and of the second term to 330,000,000 roubles; this, however, is not considered sufficient. The investigations in 23 provinces out of 33 show that we have at the present time 1,021 Kindergartens, 7 homes, 375 open-air schools, and 2 colonies. These establishments cater for 180,315 children. This number is, of course, comparatively small when one realises that there are several millions of children under school age. Moreover, it is impossible at present to supply more detailed statistics, but it must be admitted that what has been accomplished is a great step forward compared with the past.

"Up to date, the Supreme Council of National Economy has supplied this pre-scolastic section of the Commissariat with 4,740,000 arshins (an arshin is about three-quarters of a yard) of materials, 370,000 reels of thread, and 300,000 pairs of stockings. This shows that the six months' clothing allowance for each child consists of 6½ arshins of material, and 3 pairs of stockings.

"According to its original plan, the pre-scholastic section has paid more attention to model gardens than to ordinary kindergartens. However, the needs of the population are forcing us to extend our work. While not abandoning the idea of model gardens as centres, the pre-scholastic section is opening hundreds of new and more primitive Kindergartens of a provisional character. The peasants are very enthusiastic about these kindergartens. In many cases they open them at their own expense, and only come to us for headmistresses. The staffs whom we train at our provincial and central classes are far more devoted to the Soviet Government than the former teaching staffs. The Government intends to continue to develop this work without stint of energy or resources, for the children between the ages of 3 and 8 (which we call the pre-scholastic age), are at that stage when personality is formed, and it is precisely at that period that we want to instil into them the foundation of Socialist principles."

Lunatcharski,
Commissary of Public Instruction

* * * *

...*Note.*—Four Russian "Trade Unionists" are holding meetings in various districts against the Soviet Government under the auspices of the People's League. Bureau publications should be on sale at such meetings; to help us in this, kindly tell us when they are speaking in your district.

(People's Russian Information Bureau.)

ANTI-BOLSHEVIK CAMPAIGN.

A comrade in Ashton-under-Lyne writes:—

"Dear Comrade,—Much comment was caused in Ashton-under-Lyne by the appearance on the hoardings of posters announcing the visit of four escaped Russian Labour Leaders (?), their object being, in the words of a local liberal organ (*The Ashton Reporter*) "to tell the Lancashire workman some truths about Bolshevism." Two evening mass meetings were arranged in the Co-operative Hall, one on the Friday (2nd), the other on the Sunday (4th).

As it so happens that both Manchester and Ashton-under-Lyne have well organised local H.O.R. Committees, also the National Committee of the above movement is situated midway between Ashton and Manchester.

I attended both meetings at Ashton-under-Lyne, and the fact that both concluded with singing the "Red Flag" and three cheers for Lenin and Trotsky, augurs well for the future. On each occasion the platform was captured, and had it not been for the electric switches being in the hands of the enemy, the meeting on Sunday night would have been continued, for most of the packed audience remained seated until complete darkness prevented further procedure. However, a huge overflow meeting was held outside the building, when questions were asked. Speeches were delivered by Comrade Roberts, of the Openshaw B.S.P., and Comrade Webb, of the W.S.F.

Our message to the workers throughout the country is as follows:—

'Follow these Russian counter-revolutionists wherever they go, harass them with all means at your disposal. Dispense with all the nicities of formal democracy."

A Member of the Manchester Council of the N.U.R.

A NEW MOVE.

At the request of the Powers, Roumania has consented to give asylum to refugees from Denikin's forces and to provide hutments for them. Roumania is doubtless to be used as a new training ground for anti-Bolshevik forces.

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PEACE WITH RUSSIA?

The Allied decision to allow trade with the Russian Co-operatives must be received with very great reserve. This move may indicate that the Allies are finding the task of crushing the Soviets too great for them, and the need for grain, timber, oil, and other raw material from Russia, too serious to be denied; or this may be a mere pretence to betray the Communists into slackening their war effort and disbanding the Red army to engage in peaceful work.

The growing opposition of the Allied working class, and the cost of hostilities are factors in the situation.

It must not be forgotten that the Government has repeatedly deceived the people of this country in regard to previous war commitments, and international bargains, and that its statements on Russia have all been full of deception. To stave off action by Labour, or to win an election, this Government has shown, again and again, that it will not scruple to tell lie upon lie.

A large proportion of the Russian Co-operatives was at first strongly opposed to the Soviets and to Communism. Consider the personnel of the Co-operatives in this country, and you will have no difficulty in realising that a large proportion of the Co-operatives here will also hang back from anything revolutionary or new, when the great upheaval comes in Britain.

They may also be slow to accept Communism in place of the little capitalism which bounds their outlook. But in time, and largely through the firmness and breadth of Lenin's policy within the Bolshevik Party, the Russian Co-operatives were invited and agreed to send representatives to the Soviets, and they have gradually come to act as the main distributing agencies of the Soviet community.

Doubtless some of the Mensheviki and counter-revolutionaries, who early flew to the Co-operatives as a refuge from Communism, and who long tried to influence the Co-operatives against the Soviets, will now endeavour to make use of the Allied decision to trade with the Co-operatives, and not with the Soviet Government, in order to drive in another wedge between the Co-operatives and the Soviets.

Probably that is the intention of the Allied Governments. The terms on which trading will be resumed are not disclosed: it is likely that the Allies will attempt to introduce conditions which would interfere with the internal affairs of Russia and to undermine her Communist organisation of Society.

On the other hand, it may be that the blockade, though nominally lifted, will actually continue, except in those now comparatively small districts where counter-revolutionary forces still remain. Perhaps the Allies only mean to trade with the Co-operatives in such districts.

There can be no doubt that the hostility of the Allied Governments to Soviet Russia is as great as ever. It is ominous that all the British warships that can be spared are being sent to the Black Sea. This does not seem like peace.

Moreover, the Conference continues at Helsingfors between the Allied representatives and the border States of Russia. The reports of that Conference all indicate that it assumed Soviet Russia is to be "the enemy." The Allies have recognised the independence of separate States on all the ice-free coasts of Russia; Russia also recognises their independence, but will they be used to blockade her?

What is to happen regarding Poland, which has been compelled by the Allies to fight against Soviet Russia?

The Allies announce that their policy towards Soviet Russia is unchanged; it would be folly, therefore, for us to believe they have now abandoned their fight against the Workers' Republic.

We must continue to press for a definite peace with Soviet Russia on the basis of no annexations, no indemnities, no interference in Russia's internal affairs.

ANTI PROFITEERING FARCE.

Mr. C. A. McCurdy, M.P., Chairman of the Central Profiteering Committee, has reported on the work of the Committee; he says that there is no profiteering in tobacco:

> In its investigation of tobacco prices the Committee found no evidence to suggest that the existence of the Imperial Tobacco Company (which was said to provide between 55 and 60 per cent. of all the tobacco consumed in this country), or its agreements with the retailers, had caused any part of the rise in prices of about 110 per cent. since 1914. On the contrary, it appeared that the lower cost of production of the company, as compared with that of manufacturers, exercised some influence on the Tobacco Control Board to prevent the controlled prices being raised. Since control had ceased the company were maintaining the last control price in spite of continued rises in the cost of production.
>
> The Committee do not ignore the fact that the policy of the Imperial Tobacco Company might be changed, nor do they overlook the ability of the company to secure the entire, or nearly the entire, monopoly of the tobacco trade; and they realise that in the event of the company securing the monopoly they would be able to raise prices almost to any extent desired. They suggest that the Government might well be armed with powers to take any steps that may become necessary to protect the public in the event of the monopoly being exercised to its detriment.

The Times financial column of January 17th, gave some further information on tobacco, and with the open-hearted generosity it always displays to the capitalists, it says:

> BRITISH AMERICAN TOBACCO EXPANSION.
>
> Satisfaction over the enlarged revenue of the British American Tobacco Company will be felt by a wider public than the shareholders, for the business is solely confined to that of export, and the company now ranks as one of the largest exporting houses in the Kingdom. Net profits for the financial year ended September 30th last, after providing for all charges, for income-tax, and estimated excess profits duty, amounted to £3,776,508, an increase of £636,334 on those of 1917-18. A factor that has probably played an important part in swelling the profits has been the great rise in the silver exchanges, for the company does a big business with the East. By the payment of a final dividend of 6 per cent. (free of tax) the distribution on the ordinary shares is brought up to 30 per cent. (tax free). The same rate was paid a year ago, but it has to be remembered that while the last issue of capital, amounting to about 2¼ millions, was only paid up on August 15th, enabling the company to employ it for not more than six weeks out of the 52, the year's profits are bearing the cost of two dividends, each of 6 per cent., in respect of these new shares. The amount carried forward (£4,400,000) is £1,400,000 more than a year ago.
>
> "The capital raised last autumn was made to the shareholders at par in the proportion of one in three. Now comes the announcement of another capital bonus, the shareholders being offered one new share at par in respect of every two held. The issue involves an increase in the authorised ordinary capital from £10,000,000 to £15,500,000, and an increase in the issued capital from approximately 8¼ millions to 12¾ millions sterling. Including the £4,500,000 of existing preference shares the company will thus control an issued share capital of £17,250,000. The company's latest requirements are both a testimony to expanding business and a reflection of the increase that has taken place in tobacco leaf and in production costs generally. As the existing £1 ordinary shares of the British American Tobacco Company are quoted at 7¾ cum rights, the offer of new shares in the proportion of one in two gives rights that are worth £2 5s. per share."

Export and home prices act and react on each other; so capitalist fortunes are piled up and the workers pay the bill!

Van der Berghs, magazine manufacturers, have paid a dividend of 25 per cent. per annum.

The Central Profiteering Committee has decided that profits rising from 50 to over 70 per cent. on chocolate are quite legitimate.

Woollen manufacturers are making profits amounting to 3,200 per cent: cotton profits are also inordinate. The manufacturers protest that they cannot help it for:

> "Buyers come to manufacturers whose order books are already full, and ask for supplies. To get rid of them politely the manufacturer quotes what ought to be a prohibitive figure; but it is accepted. One effect certainly is an advance in the price of cotton goods in the home market."

This, the manufacturers admit, presses hardly upon the people at home, "but may it not be in the interest of the country as a whole that these valuable exports should continue?"

From the manufacturers' standpoint this view of the situation is very satisfactory, but no worker can be so foolish as to be gulled by it.

Frank Hodges accuses the mine-owners of starving domestic consumers of coal because they can get high prices for coal sold for export and industrial purposes. He further calculates that the price of industrial coal should be reduced by 9/4 per ton.

MRS. WALKER PROTESTS.

G. H. Roberts, the Food Controller, at Grosvenor House, on January 19th, told a conference of Labour organisations that sugar we used to buy at 2 cents per pound now costs 11 cents; when milk was "decontrolled" the prices would fall.

Mrs. Walker, W.S.F., said that as far as she was concerned, she hoped the prices rose much higher, as she was sure that the capitalist system would never be overthrown "until the men's stomachs were pinched." They did not buy the food: their wives were at present the sufferers from the high prices, and they would make every sacrifice to prevent the pressure falling upon their husbands and children. When the women workers were no longer able to buy food for their children they would take it, and a crisis would be reached. When the Revolution once started it would not stop till capitalism was destroyed. The palliatives adopted by the Food Ministry to keep the people quiet were useless; she was out for the Revolution and the Soviets.

The "Business Government" has just given another opportunity to its Business friends; first it sold them the munition factories at a loss, then the national shipyard at Chepstow, now they have got the five national flax factories!

BRITISH COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF BREAKS COLOGNE STRIKE.

The railway workers of Cologne were about to strike, but the British commander-in-chief ordered them back to work. One hundred workers struck nevertheless. They were arrested, and brought before the British Summary Court. They were told that if they would give an undertaking to go back to work and stay there, they would not be punished. Overawed by the force of the British military, they obeyed.

British workers are paying for the Army of Occupation, which thus uses its strength on the side of the German capitalist, against the German worker!

OIL STEALERS.

The Polish weekly, *The Swit*, reports that the Galician Petrol Association has been bought up by British capitalsts. In Boryslaw Count Morgan is buying petrol sources on behalf of French bankers. German commercial papers express the fear that the entire petrol industry of Galicia will be taken over by British capitalists.

This is what the Coalition missionaries are doing in Central Europe. They are simply agents of capitalist exploiters. Whilst deceiving the masses with talk about a plebiscite and the right of peoples to self-determination they are stealing the national wealth of the country.

RAMSAY MACDONALD BANS BOLSHEVIK HERETICS.

Dismayed by the growth of Communist feeling, and support of the Soviet idea within the I.L.P., Ramsay MacDonald continues his open letters to I.L.P.ers who doubt the wisdom of his policy. In last week's *Labour Leader* he wrote "to a Branch Secretary" advising him not to allow "heretics" to speak from the platform of the I.L.P. He complains that there is "a good deal of slackness upon this in some of the branches." "These branches," he says, "actually think that the I.L.P. has the duty of bringing to the notice of the public all sorts of theories about Socialism, Anarchism, or anything else that proposes to re-create the world. But this is wrong," says Mr. MacDonald. "The I.L.P. is the I.L.P. It has a mission and principles, and first of all it is the custodian of these."

We wonder what these special I.L.P. principles are: it would be so interesting if Mr. MacDonald would exactly define them, though, of course, if he does, we do not at all expect that any other member of the I.L.P. will agree with MacDonald's version of them. He goes on to argue that the purpose of a public meeting or, at least, of an I.L.P. public meeting, is not to impart knowledge, but to pronounce opinions:—

"The platform with the public in front of it is not the same thing at all as a desk with students in front of it. Opinion is the purpose of the first, knowledge of the second, and though opinion is a windpuff without knowledge, there is a rationale in propaganda and advocacy, apart from mere teaching. We need not be ashamed if we are propagandists and advocates. We assume that men have intelligence and knowledge; we state our case in accordance with that assumption."

This is a curious statement: has Mr. MacDonald really thought out what it means? Does he seriously say that all the working masses of this country have knowledge of Socialist theory, and of the national and international working of Capitalism? and that, therefore, it is unnecessary to give them "mere teaching" on these all-important subjects? Does he seriously say that the mission of the I.L.P. in the thousands of public meetings it holds throughout the country, is not to bring knowledge to the masses, but only to "move" them?

If that is the policy of the approved I.L.P. speaker, we need not wonder that Mr. MacDonald should find, to his dismay:—

"In certain places, especially in South Wales when a branch of the I.L.P. is successfully started, the critic swoops upon it, like a bird of prey, is welcomed by it, kills it."

A party that does not endeavour to give knowledge is certain to find its adherents easily swayed from one opinion to another. MacDonald continues:—

"The fine victory at Spen Valley should hearten us in our work; we are moving the country."

But such elections as that of Spen Valley are *not* moving the country to Socialism; not Socialism, but such palliatives as the capital levy, were the issues of the Spen Valley contest.

Finally, MacDonald argues that it is not in the interest of the working class movement or of Socialism to change I.L.P. tactics "from the defensive to the offensive" just, when the I.L.P. defeats are being transformed into victories and the walls of Capitalism are cracking.

Does Mr. MacDonald really think it possible for the workers to destroy Capitalism by merely remaining on the defensive, or by making frantic efforts to plaster up the cracks and to hide them with paint, as was done at Berne?

Philip Snowden's Anxiety about "the Eastern Peril."

First, it was George Lansbury who became concerned by the capitalist scare-cries about the "Eastern Peril." Now Philip Snowden expresses a like anxiety. In last week's *Labour Leader* he said:—

"Very disquieting news comes from a British official source of an anti-British move on a large scale towards India."

But why should Mr. Snowden distress himself about that? Surely he has not turned Imperialist; surely he is not deluded by the fiction that the domination of any alien capitalist Government is a benefit to the oppressed masses of India! Can he speak of the blessings of British rule in face of Amritsar. Surely he has not read Kier Hardie's book on India?

He should study it at once, and should specially note the following passages:—

"The amount of taxes raised direct from the peasants is from 50 per cent. to 65 per cent. of the value of the yield of the land, in addition to which they have to pay local cesses and various other small items, so that probably not less than 75 per cent. of the harvest goes in taxes. To most people this will seem incomprehensible. A 5 per cent. tax on income at home leads to heavy and continuous grumbling, and yet the 5 per cent. is assessed, not on the total produce of the land, but on the profits. What, then, must be the condition of a country in which the tax is not 5 per cent. on the profits, but 75 per cent. on the harvest reaped? From time to time the revenue charges are revised so that the Government may obtain the last penny that can be wrung from the over-weighted peasant. Increases of 30 per cent. are common, and there are many on record of 50, 70, and even 100 per cent. It is this fact which keeps the people of India in a condition of perpetual, hopeless, grinding poverty. It is commonly alleged that the peasant under British rule pays less than he formerly did under native rule. This statement can be refuted in a variety of ways, but here are some figures, which, at least, are fairly conclusive on the point. When the province of Bombay came under British dominion in 1817, the revenue claimed by its rulers from the peasants was estimated at 8,000,000 rupees. The method of assessment was to take one-fourth of the crop as it stood, good and bad alike. Thus in years of plenty Government and people alike benefited whilst in lean years both suffered. Now a fixed yearly sum is charged, be the crops good, bad, or indifferent. Immediately after 1817 a process of forcing up the revenue was begun, and in 1823 it had increased to 15,000,000 rupees, and in 1875 to 48,000,000 rupees."

"Mr. S. S. Thorburn, Financial Commissioner of the Punjaub, declared 'that seventy millions of Indian peasants are in such a condition of hopeless poverty that no reforms can do them any good.'"

"The total number of children attending schools in the whole of India, including the native states, is only about five millions, and the sum which the Government spends upon education works out at about 1½d. per head. The military expenditure, I might add in passing, averages 1/- per head of the population. Max Muller, on the strength of official documents and a missionary report concerning education in Bengal prior to the British occupation, asserts that there were then 80,000 native schools in Bengal, or one for every 400 of the population. Ludlow, in his history of British India, says that 'in every Hindoo village which retains its old form I am assured that the children generally are able to read, write and cipher, but where we have swept away the village system, as in Bengal, there the village school has also disappeared.'"

Not "the Bolshevik peril in the East," but "the Bolshevik hope in the East" should be the battle-cry of Socialists. Philips Price has told us how, with the abolition of landlordism and the establishment of the Soviets, the Eastern peoples, who had long warred with each other, settled down in brotherly harmony to manage together their communal affairs. The same thing will happen in all parts of Asia and India where Communism is established. Communism and the Soviets make an instant appeal to the Eastern peoples, whose thoughts are less drilled to the tune of Capitalism than are those of the men and women who have enjoyed the benefits of an elementary education and the daily capitalistic press.

The East, awed by the modern machinery of Western civilisation, has long been held down by Western capitalists. Now that India and other parts of the East are being industrialised, the East will inevitably throw off the Western yoke when the situation is ripe. We gladly welcome the prospect, that instead of merely passing under the domination of Eastern capitalists the teeming masses of the East will arise and establish Communism. Take the scales from your eyes, Comrade Snowden, brush the dusty old cobwebs from your brain, and rejoice with us at the great awakening of the Eastern world and the approaching of the golden age of Communism!

The Indebtedness of Europe.

J. H. Thomas and J. R. Clynes have joined a number of Liberal and Tory politicians, including Asquith and McKenna, Lord Robert Cecil, Lord Inchcape, and Sir Donald Maclean, in presenting a memorial to the Government. This memorial asks for the summoning of a conference of International financial representatives. It calls for "decrease of excessive consumption, and increased production and taxation" as "the most hopeful remedies for the financial difficulties facing the nation," and declares that unless these measures are applied anarchy will spread in Europe. It declares that "no country is deserving of credit . . . which cannot bring its current expenditure within the compass of its receipts from taxation and other regular income."

It is the old capitalist gospel of "pay or starve." A strange one for Labour representatives to preach!

The memorial further says that Germany and Austria "must bear the largest burden they can possibly assume," but that, to avoid revolt amongst their peoples, it may be necessary to extend the period of payment. The victorious nations also, it says, must take care not to make taxation so high as to create "social unrest." It is emphatically urged that the countries where the trade balance and the exchanges are favourable, should not lend more money to the bankrupt nations than "is absolutely necessary to restore productive processes. . . . It is only by the real economic conditions pressing severely, as they must, on the individual that equilibrium can be restored."

The "individual" means the poor individual, of course; the well-to-do people who signed the memorial will not go short.

Good terms to the private investors in the proposed loans and the freeing of "national and international trade from the restrictive control by government" are also recommended.

It is urged that the best minds in all countries should co-operate in "the re-establishment of a willingness to work and to save. . . ."

What are Clynes and Thomas doing in the Labour Party, since this reactionary manifesto meets with their approval?

Lansbury's Advice

George Lansbury, in the *Daily Herald*, is urging that "an international commission be sent to Russia." He says:—

"These are no days for choosing this one or the other for work of this kind. Any commission, however made up, which went to Russia could come back with only one policy, and that peace."

Alas! that Lansbury should be so guileless! When he went to the Versailles Conference he came back believing that all the British and American representatives were striving for a people's peace, and "trying to understand" the workers' case. He urged the Labour movement then to "back up" Lloyd George and President Wilson's virtuous efforts. Now he understands how grievously he was deceived, but with the same guilelessness he declares that whatever commission goes to Russia it is certain to recommend peace. But some people who have been to Russia have come back as determined as ever to continue war! Does Lansbury think a Commission made up of men like John Ward and Winston Churchill would return with peace proposals? Why not face the fact that the war against Soviet Russia is the class war, the historic war of Capitalism *versus* Socialism? And that some men will take one side in the contest, some the other?

Lansbury is still deprecating the alleged violence of the Communists, still recommending that another—a peaceful method—of settling matters with the Capitalist reaction should be found. Does he think that attendance at peace conferences and persuasive speeches and conversations would have served to maintain the Workers' Soviet Republic from Koltchak, Denikin, and the Allies if the Red Army had not been formed?

E. Sylvia Pankhurst.

THE RAILWAY CRISIS.

By a majority of two the railway workers decided to accept the Government's terms. The terms are bad and there is general dissatisfaction with them. The fact that they have been accepted shows we have a considerable distance to travel yet before the workers will insist on dethroning capitalism and replacing it by Communism. In the meantime every railway worker should bring Communist literature before his or her fellows.

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

The I.W.W. and the Centralia Lynching.

A Talk with George Hardy, I.W.W.

"We never forget." That is one of the mottoes of the American I.W.W., a motto that will ring through the ages telling of the long struggle for freedom of exploited workers in the wild and lawless west, in the land of the big trusts, where guns are used without much thought and life is very cheap.

In 1915 the I.W.W. began to make great headway among the workers in the lumber camps of the North West territory. The I.W.W. is the only union that has a hold in this region. To-day there are probably more class conscious workers in proportion to the population in that section of the country than in any part of the English speaking world. That territory is peopled with the discontented and adventurous elements of the working class, which are constantly travelling westward in search of better conditions. The I.W.W. there has many lecturers who preach Marxian economics and the materialist conception of history, clearly analysing the position of the workers in relation to the employers, and discussing the methods by which the working class will conquer the power. The I.W.W. lecturers seek to prove exactly and conclusively that capitalism does not perform any necessary function in industrial production; and that the State under capitalism is a machine, necessary to capitalism, for keeping the workers in subjection. They draw proof from Russia in the massacres of workers under Czardom, under Kerensky, and from modern capitalist Britain; they take the Featherstone incident, the Clyde deportations, the attack on the workers during the 40 hours' strike in Glasgow. They argue that the workers, organised as in the I.W.W., will create institutions of Communist society from amongst their midst, disregarding the institutions of capitalism; they declare the judiciary under Communism will be occupied with questions affecting man's relationship to man, not as at present, with his relationship to private property.

From the first appearance of the I.W.W. in the North West territory the attitude towards it of the lumber trust, centralised chiefly in the Western Pine Association, was one of bitter hostility. In 1917 the trust refused to deal with the I.W.W. As a result the I.W.W. organised a strike which lasted seven weeks. The eight hour day was one of the issues of the strike and when the other objects had been conceded, the workers decided to go back to their employment, and to *take* the eight hour day by working eight hours and no longer. As the workers in one group of workers were dismissed for this, they went on to another camp, and again worked eight hours only, whilst those who took their places in the old camp did as they had done.

The employers retaliated with a campaign of brutality and violence, in which they were supported by Jingo hooligans, the war being in progress, and by the police and State authorities. I.W.W. men were waylaid and beaten and tarred and feathered by Jingo mobs Many times I.W.W. members were shot in cold blood. I.W.W. offices were broken into by hooligans who burnt their furniture and papers. I.W.W. members were arrested without charge and kept in prison for long terms without trial. In prison they were cruelly tortured and in many cases driven insane. The families of I.W.W. men were driven from home. The reign of terror fell on all who dared to express opinions contrary to those dictated by the employing class. At Seattle, two weeks before he left there, Hardy saw the police come up on motor cycles and club the people right and left without provocation.

Nevertheless, the I.W.W. grew in strength and it gained a new impetus after the Armistice. In September, 1919, 75 per cent. of the men in the log wood camps were organised.

Juries now refused to convict workers for belonging to the I.W.W. In Seattle the I.W.W. obtained an injunction against the Chief of Police forcing him to take off the locks which he had placed on the I.W.W. halls and offices.

In the city of Centralia the I.W.W. hall was raided by Jingoes on Red Cross day, April, 1918. The authorities used this as an opportunity to close it.

After the Armistice the I.W.W. opened another hall some distance from the main business street of Centralia. Immediately the employers' organ began declaring that the I.W.W. must be turned out and threatening that "the citizens" would do it if the police did not. The Chief of Police demanded that the owner of the building should evict the I.W.W., but the organisation had a lease for the premises and the owner refused to break it. The so-called "citizens" threatened the owner and a woman gave a verbal message to the I.W.W. secretary:—

"Scales says you had better clear out of here, or they will clear you out."

William Scales is a well-known business man in Centralia

November 11th was Armistice day and some of the lumber camps near Centralia closed down for the event, some of the lumbermen came down to the I.W.W. Hall to get news of their friends.

The Centralia Chamber of Commerce and American Legion had decided to have a procession to celebrate the day. The members of the American Legion carried side arms in the procession, which was unusual, and the procession did not take the usual route for processions, but marched past the I.W.W. hall. The head of the procession passed the hall, then turned and marched back to it on the opposite side of the road, just as the rear of the procession, composed of ex-service men of the American Legion with officers in command, reached the hall.

Then an order was given: "*Squad, halt! Americanism! Go, get 'em!*"

The Legion halted; then dashed, howling, across the pavement to the I.W.W. hall.

There was a splintering of glass, the crash of a door being burst open, shots from the attacking party, and counter shots from the rear of the hall within.

Dr. Bickford, one of the attacking party, testified at the inquest on those who were killed in the struggle, that someone had suggested a raid on the hall; then he said: "I spoke up and said I would lead if enough would follow, but before I could take the lead there were many ahead of me. Someone next to me put his foot against the door, and forced it open, after which a shower of bullets poured through the opening around us."

Five men were killed, four of whom were invaders.

The front of the hall was torn down.

Wesley Everett, an ex-serviceman, a conscripted member of the I.W.W., was caught as he was trying to escape, and dragged out of the hall with a rope round his neck. The rope had been brought in the parade by a prominent citizen. Everett had been terribly maltreated, and could scarcely walk.

There were cries of "Lynch him." He answered: "They haven't got the guts to lynch anyone in daylight."

The raiders handed Everett over to the policemen. But when night came they turned off the city lights and went in motor-cars to the prison, "held up" the gaolers by pointing loaded guns at them, dragged Everett from the stone floor where he lay in agony, and hanged him to the river bridge, then riddled his body with bullets.

Afterwards the body was flung in the river. The next night it was taken out, tied by the rope round the neck to the back of a motor-car, and dragged along the roads to the gaol, where it was flung in amongst 30 I.W.W. men who were imprisoned there.

The Union Record, in recording these facts, added: "It will be taken some time to-day in a motor truck to a lot at the outskirts of the city and thrown into a trench without burial service."

This was done, and the I.W.W. prisoners were made to bury the mutilated remains of their comrade.

Thus ignorant jingoism and greedy capitalism visited their vulgar hatred upon the living and the dead, and the authorities allowed them to do as they pleased without let or hindrance.

Now followed a reign of terror. The I.W.W. was accused of being the cause of the fight on Armistice day. It was pretended that I.W.W. men had started the trouble by firing on the procession in cold blood.

The day after the Armistice, U.S. Attorney Robert Saunders, of Seattle, issued an order for the arrest of every I.W.W. "whether he has a card or is known to be affiliated with that organisation." All I.W.W. letters were held up, and there was a heavy censorship on the mails. Workers began leaving their jobs in the woods to go into the towns because they got no word from their friends, and were anxious about them. The foremen and managers sent word to the police to arrest men leaving their jobs, as "Reds," and the workers from the camps were, therefore, cast into gaol when they reached the town. Soon 2,000 I.W.W. men were in prison, ten of them charged with the murder of those who were shot on Armistice day.

The lawyer who was to defend the I.W.W. men was placed under arrest. Attorney Pierce was sent for from Seattle to take his place, but the police took him back to the train, and drove him out of Centralia. A journalist who dared to write some of the truth was turned out of Centralia.

In the Centralia gaol the 70 prisoners were confined in what is called the big tank, and measures 25 by 40 feet. It was so crowded that there was scarcely room for them to stretch out on the concrete floor to sleep.

The I.W.W. prisoners were tortured and threatened with lynching to induce them to confess that the shooting on Armistice day had been caused by the I.W.W., and two boys and a man, in terror of their lives, made bogus confessions. Such evidence has been overwhelmingly refuted by well-known citizens who saw what took place.

The persecution was not only concentrated against the I.W.W.; every labour organisation was made to feel it. This extract from the *Business Chronicle* of Seattle shows the spirit which animated militant capitalism in the North West:—

"There is just one chance left and by the Eternal God, we must take it or we are lost.

"Real Americans must rise as one man in the righteous wrath of outraged patriotism. First, invoke such legal machinery as we have; and if that is not sufficient, then hastily construct something fool proof. We must smash every un-American and anti-American organisation in the land. We must put to death the leaders in this gigantic conspiracy of murder, pillage, and revolution. We must imprison for life all its aiders and abettors of native birth. We must deport the aliens.

"The I.W.W., the *Non-partisan League, the so-called Triple Alliance in the State of Washington, the pro-German Socialists, the Closed Shop Labour Unions*, the agitators, malcontents, anarchists, syndicalists, seditionists, traitors—the whole motley crew of Bolshevists and near-Bolshevists—*must be outlawed by public opinion and hunted down and hounded until driven beyond the horizon of civic decency.*

The above statement helps to convey an understanding of the frame of mind of those militant capitalists who planned the hideous frame up of Centralia's Armistice day, organised the raid on the I.W.W. hall, chose a leader for the job, and carried out the subsequent atrocities.

The campaign against the I.W.W. is not confined to the North-West, it is waged furiously throughout the United States. Bass, a Sheriff of Pennsylvania, giving evidence at the trial of an I.W.W., admitted that he deliberately broke up orderly meetings of the organisation. A superintendent of one of the lumber companies testified at a trial that he had ordered his employees to lock up in a railway carriage a man he thought to be an I.W.W., and then had him

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THE SECOND INTERNATIONAL v. THE THIRD.

The Second International cannot be called a Socialist International. This is proved both by its composition and the decisions it came to at its recent meetings in Berne in January—February, 1919, and in Amsterdam in April, 1919

To the Second International adhere the "Social Patriotic" Parties, which supported their capitalistic governments during the war. These include the British Labour Party, the Belgian Socialist Party, which not only was represented in a capitalist coalition government during the war, but is now taking part in a new capitalist coalition formed since the war; and the Social-democratic Party of Scheidemann and Noske in Germany, which is upholding the capitalist system shaken by the first revolution, and which, in its struggle to prevent the revolutionary workers from achieving Socialism, procured the murder of Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht, Leo Yogehes, and large numbers of other devoted Socialists. The Russian Communists were not invited to the Berne meeting of the Second International, but the Russian so-called Socialists, who support armed intervention by capitalist governments to put down the Workers' Soviets, were invited, and were present.

The Italian, Swiss, Serbian and Roumanian Socialist Parties refused to take part in the Conference of the Second International at Berne. The Norwegian Socialist Party has now also seceded, as have the German Independent Socialists, leaving only the Noske and Scheidemann Party to represent the Germans at Berne.

The Second International fails to recognise the class war, and has a reformist, not a Socialist programme.

Therefore, it decided for:—

(1) The League of Nations.

(2) Free Trade and the "open door" in colonies.

Because it fails to recognise the class-war, and to take its stand with the workers in that war, the Second International proposed to give to the League of Nations the power to rectify frontiers at any time, and to control the production and distribution of food stuffs and raw materials throughout the world.

Such powers in the hands of a capitalist League of Nations, whether composed of representatives of governments or of capitalist majorities in Parliament, would be used against the Workers' Revolution in Russia and in every other country where it may appear.

(3) The Berne Conference also recommended the establishment of an International Labour Charter by the League of Nations.

Obviously it is folly to place the framing of a Labour Charter in the hands of a League in which employers predominate. The policy of this recommendation is in line with that which created the National Union of Employers and Employed.

RUSSIA.

On Russia three resolutions were before the Second International at Berne. One of these, by the French Communist Loriot, supported the Bolsheviki, but it received no support. The resolution adopted by the majority, and supported by the British section, declared:—

(4) Against the Soviets.

(5) Against the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

(6) Against the socialisation of industry with control of the industry by the workers in it.

(7) For bourgeois democracy, including Parliament, with a government responsible to it, and freedom of speech, press and assembly.

(8) For nationalisation of industry "under the control of the democracy," apparently through Parliament, like the Post-office.

The third resolution supported by a minority, declared that the Conference had not sufficient material to judge of the state of affairs in Russia.

LABOUR LEGISLATION.

(9) The Berne Conference adopted a long reformist programme, which it called a Labour Charter, and which included the following provisions:—

Compulsory primary education, free higher education. Children under 15 years not to be employed in industry.

Eight hours working day, six hours for children between 15 and 18 years.

Wages Boards representing employers and employed to fix wages for home industries.

A legal minimum to be fixed in sweated industries by wages boards, equally representing employers and employed.

Unemployment to be reduced by linking up the Labour Exchanges, and by unemployment insurance in each country.

A permanent Commission, consisting of an equal number of representatives of the Governments, which are members of the League of Nations, and of the International Trades Union Federation.

This Labour Charter, drawn up by the pseudo socialist Conference of the Second International, formed the basis of the Labour Charter afterwards adopted by the Capitalist League of Nations.

The Permanent Commission of the Second International meeting in Amsterdam in April, 1919, issued further declarations.

(10) It made a point of demanding self-determination for Georgia, Esthonia and the Ukraine, at a time when the revolutionary workers of those states were fighting to unite with Soviet Russia and their capitalists were making war against Soviet Russia, which had granted the independence of those states.

(11) It said that it "welcomes the introduction into the Covenant of the League of Nations of the idea that peoples unable to stand on their own feet shall be placed as wards under the protecting care of the advanced states."

How blind is the Second International regarding the "protecting care" of capitalist governments.

(12) It declared that the "economic opportunities of colonies should be open to all nations equally."

(13) It demanded that Germany should make reparation for the war losses of the Allies "as required by the Wilson programme," characterising this as "both necessary and just."

(14) It demanded "open diplomacy as employed by President Wilson with regard to the differences between Italy and the Jugo-Slavs." It said "as this method guarantees that the claims of the different nations shall be settled strictly on the justice of each case and in the only way calculated to assist the permanency of a world peace."

In that sentence is summed up by the Second International its disregard of the realities of capitalist diplomacy and imperialism, and of the fact that under capitalism international disputes are settled according to the strength of the contending parties.

(15) It declared that it was "determined to oppose any peace which is in contradiction to President Wilson's 14 points, as those form the only basis which will ensure an enduring harmony between all peaceful and free democracies."

Thus the Second International takes its stand with bourgeois politicians, and asks only for mild reforms within the capitalist system.

THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

The Third International was inaugurated in Moscow in response to the call of the Russian Communists. To it the Italian, Spanish and Norwegian Socialist Parties, as well as Communist Parties in France, Germany, Austria, Holland, America, China, Japan, and every other country are affiliated.

The Third International stands for:—

(1) The overthrow of capitalism and the substitution of socialism.

(2) The abolition of the present Parliamentary and Local Government system and the substitution of Soviets, which are composed of delegates from the workers in industry and on the land, from the army and navy, from villages and hamlets where the population is too sparse to be represented occupationally, and from women not employed in industry; the delegates to be always subject to re-call by, and to receive instructions from, and report to, those who elect them.

(3) The Dictatorship of the workers during the stage of transition from capitalism into Communism. This means that only the persons engaged in productive work, who do not employ others for private gain, may vote or be elected, or possess political power. This dictatorship is necessary to prevent the capitalists from re-establishing capitalism, and from committing sabotage against the Communist society. The dictatorship will last until capitalism is extinct and the ex-capitalists have settled down to work in the Communist community.

(4) The socialisation and workers' control of the land and the industries. This means that the land and industries will become the property of the nation as a whole, and that they will be administered by committees of the people engaged in working them.

(5) Every member of the community should do useful work for the community, and is entitled to assured sustenance, whether well or ill, old or young, in accordance with the general standard of living.

(6) Thus, in Soviet Russia, though complete Communism is not yet achieved, the people are moving towards equality of remuneration, and everyone is assured of the usual wages during illness, or in old age. Everything is free to the children. Education is free to all, and there is maintenance for students; the age for leaving school in 1920 was fixed at 20 years of age, though it may be that war conditions have caused the postponement of this decree.

(7) Self-determination of peoples by a referendum vote of all the men and women over 18 years of age in disputed territories.

(8) Disarmament of the bourgeoisie in all countries, and arming of the workers to protect the socialist communities from capitalist attacks until capitalism has disappeared, when armaments will no longer be necessary.

(9) Abolition of all racial distinctions. Whoever goes to live and work in Soviet Russia becomes a citizen of the Soviet State with full citizen rights, without regard to his or her original nationality.

(10) A world federation of Communist Republics.

(11) The Third International, recognising the capitalist nature of the war, voiced the demand that it should be ended on the basis of no annexations, no indemnities, the right of the peoples to decide their own destinies.

The Third International recognises the class-war. It calls: "Workers of all countries unite! You have nothing to lose but your chains." The Third International struggles directly for socialism.

The Second International advises the workers to make the best of capitalism and to form councils of employers and employed.

The I.W.W. and the Centralia Lynching.

Continued from page 1618.

brought out and tarred and feathered by soldiers in his employ. This superintendent stated in open court that he thought he had done the right thing.

Owing to the difficulty of securing convictions against members of the I.W.W. in the State of Washington, the Attorneys there had a conference, and decided to bring the men to trial as rapidly as possible, and simultaneously, in the hope that the I.W.W. would not be able to find the money or the lawyers to defend their members in the various courts of the State on the same day.

During their imprisonment the I.W.W. men have been tortured and ill-treated; some have been chained up to the bars of the cell with their hands above their heads all day long for five weeks at a time, and during this time they have been fed on bread and water. Some have been kept in dark cells, some beaten with clubs.

So it is that the I.W.W. say: "We never forget."

All this fighting, all this hardship and persecution to secure a few shillings a week more in wages. Why not change the capitalist system which makes these things possible?

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

BETWEEN OURSELVES. By L. A. Motler.

"Irish Blend."

The other day I met the Irish Girl. Why I should meet her is writ on the scrolls of Fate, which are kept in Davy Jones' locker, and as Taffy is a Welshman, you may guess I have never set eyes on the book yet.

The Irish Girl has, of course, a name; but I have such a memory for names, perhaps it was Mary McMurphy, but I have forgotten, and my Irish only goes as far as "Thaw thu an asal," which, as you may guess, means "Top o' the marnin' to ye." Try it on the next Irishman you meet, then run.

When I met Mary she looked—well, very Irish. I remembered it was leap year, and handsome men being slightly sunburnt (which in my case is through daily contact with red-hot Bolsheviks), I made for the woods. That is to say, the wood-pile. As I began industrially—no, I mean industriously (blame it on Mary) chopping up the wood, I ran over all the points I could put to her. I would say:—

"I am stone deaf in both feet, and blind in one eye-tooth; I am a consistent Anarchist, and, as such, strongly object to legal marriage: I am also a fervid Mormon, and when I think of my seventeen wives, I simply couldn't imagine an eighteenth, no matter if her name was Mary McMurphy, and Irish at twenty. I am also a Bolshevik and I fry babies for breakfast, Irish ones for preference; my avuncular aunt's seventy-seventh cousin twenty-two times removed knew the man who carried the bag in which Crippen hid the Brides of the Bath. Mary McMurphy is your name, single is your station, happy is the man who makes the alteration—provided his name doesn't rhyme with mine."

But, no. I was mistaken. Mary opened hostilities by saying—"Why don't you Communists take more interest in the Irish? You print yards about the Bolsheviks, and Denikin and Koltchak, but all Ireland is good for is a paragraph tucked away in a corner."

Just imagine a girl, a very Irish girl, talking politics—and that to a slightly sunburnt man. These modern women—but it is no good telling them all that. Believe me, I have had some. Although not married in the strict sense of the word—but here comes the censor.

I dissembled. I said: "Not take interest in the Irish, indeed! Why, I have noticed you for a long time, but I hadn't the pleasure——"

"Now, none of your blarney, please; I really mean it. Couldn't you just write something about Ireland, just for once, and let people take more interest in the great question? After all, it must be remembered that what Ireland is suffering is entirely due to the apathy of the English people. I am sure if they took more interest in the question, it would mean so much to poor Ireland."

I took out my handkerchief and polished my watch. "Mary," I said, "tell me first of all, what do you mean by Ireland?"

You would not believe me, Henry, but the poor girl was quite cross. The Irish don't cry—in the same way as donkeys don't die—but it looked very near like it. And I had asked what I considered a straight and simple question.

"Now, don't break your heart, cushla," I said. "I know that you would like to mean by the word Ireland, all that is good, the great-heartedness of the people, their courage against eight hundred years of tyranny, their desires to be free, and their resentment against the apathy of the English people. I understand all that. But for Ireland merely to be free would amount to very little at all. Poland is free. Czecho-Slovakia is free—but in what does their freedom consist?

"Real freedom is impossible so long as one is not economically free. For Ireland to receive her freedom to-morrow would merely be transferring the ownership of things to rich Irishmen; and it has been proved by strikes in Ireland itself, that the Irish captains of industry are not a whit better than capitalists of any other nationality. And it has to be remembered that those who control industry have their capital in practically every country in the world. If Ireland were to obtain freedom in these times, it merely means that her prosperity would have to be earned in the mills, the factories, the trustified industrial workshops that would spring up in an Ireland where political strife would have died down, and where industry could be stabilised.

"The Irish are idealists, who can see nothing beyond the ideal of freedom; this is indeed a great thing in itself; but the English folk here are suffering from freedom, and it is because they can see beyond the mere chimera of freedom that they remain indifferent to the clamour in Ireland for political freedom. It is because they see very little that is beneficial in the present freedom they possess beyond that, they think that if Ireland so seriously desires this freedom, it is for them to obtain it.

"The English workers—at least, a good majority of them—are seeking real economic freedom, by which alone they would be truly free. Shakespeare has had the wit to say, "He that holds the means whereby I live, holds my life." At least, so I have been told, but whosoever did write it, is a matter of little moment. The English workers are beginning to realise that without the co-operation of other workers in all the countries of the world, this economic freedom cannot be achieved. Yet the Irish cannot distinguish the English workers from the English Prussians who oppress both peoples. The Irish workers dislike the English workers as heartily as they dislike Lord French.

A social revolution in England would automatically mean the freedom of Ireland in the most real sense of the word. The Irish have therefore everything to gain by working not for a political revolution, but a social revolution that will sweep away all tyrants of all creeds, natonalities and colours. That is the real self-determinat...."

THE WORKERS' SOCIALIST FEDERATION.

For Revolutionary International Socialism, the ending of Capitalism and Parliament, and substitution of a World Federation of Workers' Industrial Republics.

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LONDON MEETINGS—OUTDOOR.

Saturday, Jan. 24th. Great Push in Hammersmith for Communism and against Conscription and Intervention in Russia. Meetings at 3 p.m. and 7 p.m. at The Grove, near railway Stations. Speakers: Minnie Birch, Miss Grove, Melvina Walker, and P. A. Edmunds.

Sunday, Jan. 25th. 11.45 a.m.—Osborn Street, Whitechapel, Melvina Walker and others.

Tuesday, Jan. 27th. 7.30 p.m.—Grundy St., Poplar. Melvina Walker.

Friday, Jan. 30th. 7.30 p.m.—Dock Gates, Poplar. Melvina Walker.

Saturday, Jan. 31st. Great Push in Poplar.

INDOOR.

Monday, Jan. 26th. 7.30 p.m.—20, Railway Street, Poplar. W.S.F. Business Meeting. 8.30 p.m. W. S. F. Reading Circle.

Thursday, Jan. 29th. 8 p.m.—20, Railway Street. Mark Starr. 11th Lecture on Industrial History (The Latest Form of Capitalism.)

Friday, Jan. 30th. 7—10 p.m.—400, Old Ford Road. Dancing.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS.

East London Workers' Committee.

Sunday, Jan. 25th. 12 noon—Victoria Park. Walter Ponder and others.

Tuesday, Jan 27th. Queen's Road, Dalston Lane—7.30 p.m. Walter Ponder and others.

Thursday, Jan. 29th. 7.30 p.m.—400, Old Ford Rd E.3. Business Meeting.

Walthamstow League of Rights.

Tuesday, Jan. 27th. 3 p.m.—William Morris Hall, Somers Road. Mrs Edmunds.

East Ham League of Rights.

Tuesday, Jan. 27th. Old Public Offices, Wakefield Rd. 8 p.m. Mrs. Simpson.

INDUSTRIAL HISTORY.

The Lectures on Industrial History will be followed by a course of eight Lectures on Economics. Lecturer, Mark Starr. Full particulars later.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED.

General Fund.—"Irene," per Mrs. Drake, £5; Hy. Bool, £5; Miss Stephenson, £1; Bow at Home, Home, 17/4; Miss L. Isaacs, 10/-; H. Hersey, 10/-; J. G. Phillips, 6/-; East Ham League of Rights, per Olive Beamish, 1/- Collections.—Bow Club, £4 2s. 8d.; Mrs. Walker, £1 2s. 6½d.; Osborn-street, 17/5½; Greenwich, 2/11.

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Lieut. Col. MALONE, M.P.
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